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ORATION

BY

HON. JOHN W. DANIEL

ON THE

Life, Services, and Character

OF

JEFFERSON DAVIS,

DELIVERED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA,

AT

MOZART ACADEMY OF MUSIC, JANUARY 25, 1890.

RICHMOND:

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PRELIMINARY PROCEEDINGS

ON THE PART OF THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

In the Senate of Virginia, December 7, 1889, Senator T. W. Harrison, of Winchester, offered the following concurrent resolution :

Resolved (the House of Delegates concurring), That the Hon. John W. Daniel be invited to deliver an address upon the life and character and services of the late Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, in the hall of the House of Delegates, at such time during the present session of the Legislature as he may designate, and that a committee of two on the part of the Senate and three on the part of the House be appointed to wait upon the Hon. John W. Daniel and extend him this invitation and make all necessary arrangements.

Agreed to by Senate December 7, 1889.

J. D. PENDLETON,
Clerk of Senate.

Agreed to by House of Delegates December 7, 1889.

J. BELL BIGGER,
Clerk of House of Delegates.

The following joint committee was appointed on the part of the Senate and House of Delegates, respectively :

Committee on the part of the Senate :

T. W. HARRISON, of Winchester.
TAYLOR BERRY, of Amherst.

Committee on the part of the House of Delegates :

J. OWENS BERRY, of Fairfax.
P. C. CABELL, of Amherst.
JAMES M. STUBBS, of Gloucester.

In the House of Delegates December 12, 1889, the Hon. Walter T. Booth, of Richmond, offered the following concurrent resolution:

Resolved (the Senate concurring), That the committee having in charge the arrangements for the delivery of the address of Hon. John W. Daniel on the character and life of Hon. Jefferson Davis be and is hereby authorized and instructed to select for the occasion some other and larger hall than that of the House of Delegates.

Agreed to by the General Assembly of Virginia January 22, 1890.

J. BELL BIGGER.

Clerk House of Delegates and Keeper of Rolls of Virginia.

The following extract is taken from the report of the special committee made January 22, 1890:

"They have discharged the pleasant duty of tendering the said invitation, and are gratified to report that Hon. John W. Daniel has accepted the invitation, and has designated Saturday, January 25, 1890, at 8 o'clock P. M., as the time for the delivery of the same at the Mozart Academy of Music."

J. BELL BIGGER,

Clerk House of Delegates and Keeper of Rolls of Virginia.

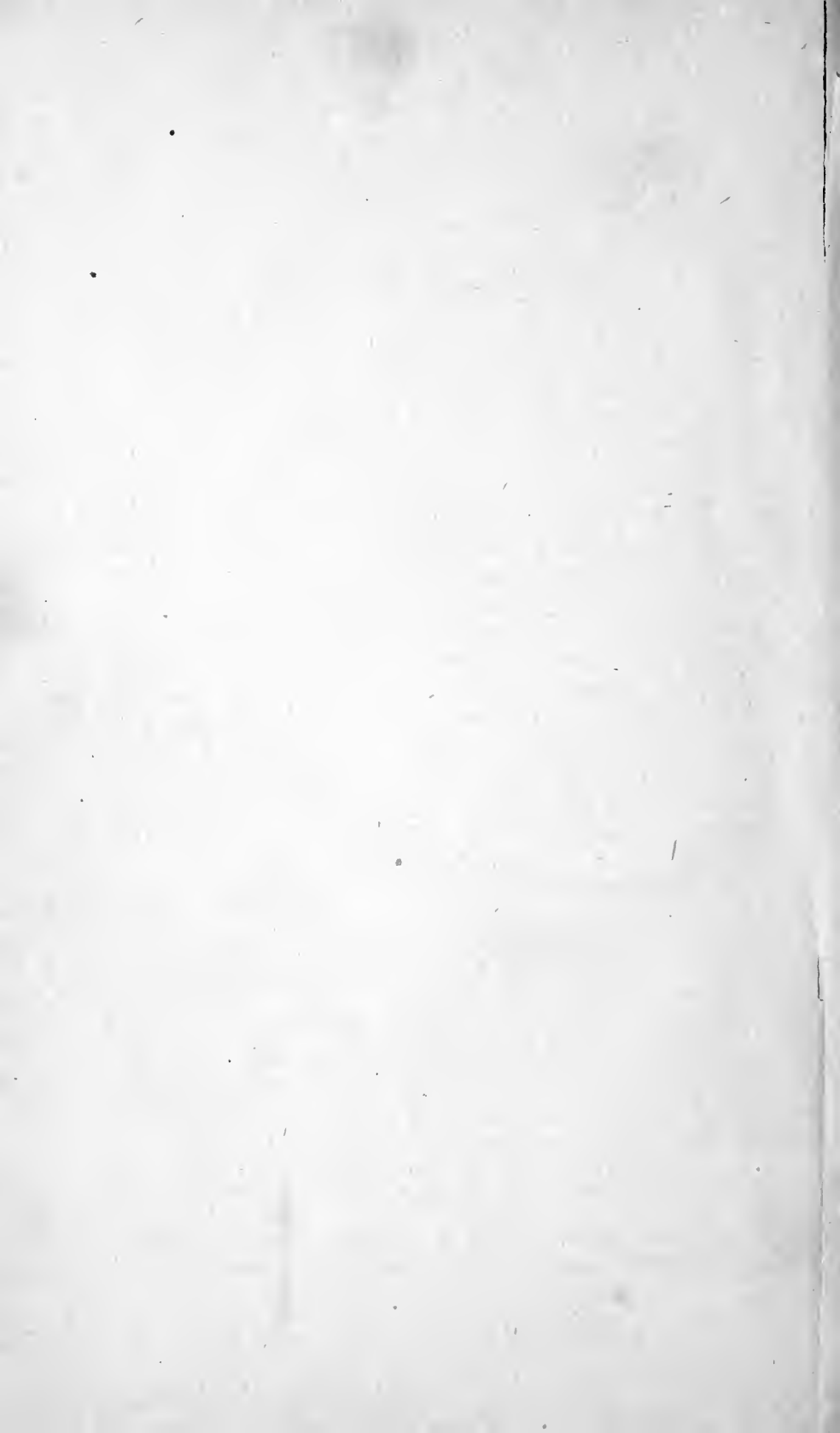
At 8 P. M. on the 25th day of January, 1890, the Hon. R. H. Cardwell, Speaker of the House of Delegates, called the vast assemblage to order, and delivered the following introductory address:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is the pleasing part of my duties to welcome you on this occasion—especially pleasing because the presence of this magnificent audience demonstrates that when the present General Assembly of Virginia invited one of her favorite sons and her most gifted orator to deliver in this, the capital city of the late Confederate States of America, an oration on the life and character of the lamented Jefferson Davis, they but voiced the wishes of the people whom they have the honor to represent. In 1865, nearing the close of the Confederacy's short life, the General Assembly of Virginia addressed an open letter to President Davis, in which it declared "its desire in this critical period of affairs, by such suggestions as occur to them and by the dedication, if need be, of the entire resources of the Commonwealth to the common cause, to strengthen our hands, and to give success to our struggle for liberty and independence."

In reply President Davis said: "Your assurance is to me a source of the highest gratification; and while conveying to you my thanks for the expression of confidence of the General Assembly in my sincere devotion to my country and its sacred cause, I must beg permission in return to bear witness to the uncalculating, unhesitating spirit with which Virginia has, from the moment when she first drew the sword, consecrated the blood of her children and all her material resources to the achievement of the object of our struggle." [Applause.]

Our "sacred cause" was lost, and after long years of vicarious suffering, through all of which he was true to us and to our dead, our chieftain has passed away, but the love for the principles for which we contended, and the memory of him who contributed so much to make our record in that struggle glorious, will live forever in the hearts of all true men and women throughout our Southland. It is our purpose on this occasion to review the brilliant life and spotless character of Mr. Davis, and in selecting as the orator that fearless son of Virginia whose eloquent words, as enduring as marble, have held up for review by coming generations the life and character of other of our great leaders who have "crossed over the river," we again have your approval, and his name is so indelibly written in our affections that your reception of him here to-night will further demonstrate that it is a needless task for me to more formally introduce to a Virginia audience John W. Daniel.



THE ORATION.

Mr. Speaker, Gentlemen of the General Assembly of Virginia, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Noble are the words of Cicero when he tells us that "it is the first and fundamental law of history that it should neither dare to say anything that is false or fear to say anything that is true, nor give any just suspicion of favor or disaffection."

No less high a standard must be invoked in considering the life, character, and services of Jefferson Davis—a great man of a great epoch, whose name is blended with the renown of American arms and with the civic glories of the cabinet and the congress hall—a son of the South who became the head of a confederacy more populous and extensive than that for which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, and the commander-in-chief of armies many times greater than those of which Washington was the general.

He swayed senates and led the soldiers of the Union—and he stood accused of treason in a court of justice.

He saw victory sweep illustrious battle-fields—and he became a captive.

He ruled millions—and he was put in chains.

He created a nation; he followed its bier; he wrote its epitaph—and he died a disfranchised citizen.

But though great in all vicissitudes and trials, he was greatest in that fortune which, lifting him first to the loftiest heights and casting him thence into the depths of disappointment, found him everywhere the erect and constant friend of truth. He conquered himself and forgave his enemies, but bent to none but God.

SEVERE SCRUTINY OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

No public man was ever subjected to sterner ordeals of character or closer scrutiny of conduct. He was in the public gaze for nearly

half a century; and in the fate which at last overwhelmed the Southern Confederacy and its President, its official records and private papers fell into the hands of his enemies.

Wary eyes now searched to see if he had overstepped the bounds which the laws of war have set to action, and could such evidence be found wrathful hearts would have cried for vengeance. But though every hiding-place was opened, and reward was ready for any who would betray the secrets of the captive chief, whose armies were scattered and whose hands were chained—though the sea gave up its dead in the convulsion of his country—there could be found no guilty fact, and accusing tongues were silenced.

“ Whatever record leaped to light,
His name could not be shamed.”

I could not, indeed, nor would I, divest myself of those identities and partialities which make me one with the people of whom he was the chief in their supreme conflict. But surely if records were stainless and enemies were dumb, and if the principals now pronounce favorable judgment upon the agent, notwithstanding that he failed to conduct their affairs to a successful issue, there can be no suspicion of undue favor on the part of those who do him honor; and the contrary inclination could only spring from disaffection.

THE SOUTH KNEW HIM AND THEREFORE HONORS HIM.

The people of the South knew Jefferson Davis. He mingled his daily life with theirs under the eager ken of those who had bound up with him all that life can cherish.

To his hands they consigned their destinies, and under his guidance they committed the land they loved, with husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers, to the God of Battles.

Ruin, wounds, and death became their portion. And yet this people do declare that Jefferson Davis was an unselfish patriot and a noble gentleman; that as the trustee of the highest trusts that man can place in man he was clear and faithful; and that in his high office he exhibited those grand heroic attributes which were worthy of its dignity and of their struggle for independence.

Thus it was that when the news came that he was no more there was no Southern home that did not pass under the shadow of affliction. Thus it was that the governors of commonwealths bore his body to the tomb and that multitudes gathered from afar to bow in reverence. Thus it was that throughout the South the scarred sol-

diers, the widowed wives, the kindred of those who had died in the battle which he delivered met to give utterance to their respect and sorrow. Thus it is that the General Assembly of Virginia is now convened to pay their tribute. Completer testimony to human worth was never given, and thus it will be that the South will build a monument to record their verdict that he was true to his people, his conscience, and his God; and no stone that covers the dead will be worthier of the Roman legend:

"Clarus et vir fortissimus."

SOME PERSONAL TRAITS OF CHARACTER.

The life now closed was one of conflict from youth to manhood, and from manhood to the grave. Before he was a man in years he was an officer in the army of his country, and intermissions of military and civil services were but spent in burnishing the weapons which were to shine in the clash of opposing interests.

The scenes of the hearthstone and of the cloisters of friendship and religion have no place on that large canvas which portrays the great events of national existence; and those who come forth from them equipped and strong to wrestle and contend leave often behind them the portions of their life work which, could others know them, would reverse all conceptions of character and turn aversion to affection.

Those who knew Jefferson Davis in intimate relations honored him most and loved him. Genial and gentle, approachable to all, especially regardful of the humble and the lowly, affable in conversation, and enriching it from the amplest stores of a refined and cultured mind, he fascinated those who came within the circle of his society and endeared them to him. Reserved as to himself, he bore the afflictions of a diseased body with scant allusion even when it became needful to plead them in self-defense. With bandaged eyes and weak from suffering he would come from a couch of pain to vote on public issues, and for over twenty years, with the sight of one eye gone, he dedicated his labors to the vindication of the South from the aspersions which misconceptions and passions had engendered.

At over four-score years he died, with his harness on, his pen yet bright and trenchant, his mental eye undimmed, his soul athirst for peace, truth, justice, and fraternity, breathing his last breath in clearing the memories of the Lost Confederacy.

Clear and strong in intellect; proud, high-minded, sensitive; self-willed, but not self-centred; self-assertive for his cause, but never for his own advancement; aggressive and imperious, as are nearly all men fit for leadership; with the sturdy virtues that command respect, but without the small diplomacies that conciliate hostility, he was one of those characters that naturally make warm friends and bitter enemies; a veritable man, "terribly in earnest," such as Carlyle loved to count among the heroes.

NEITHER SELFISH, COLDLESS, NOR CRUEL.

Such a man can never be understood while strife lasts; and little did they understand him who thought him selfish, cold, or cruel. When he came to Richmond as your President your generous people gave him a home, and he declined it. After the war, when dependent on his labor for the bread of his family, kind friends tendered him a purse. Gracefully refusing, "Send it," he said, "to the poor and suffering soldiers and their families." His heart was full of melting charity, and in the Confederate days the complaint was that his many pardons relaxed discipline, and that he would not let the sentences of military courts be executed. Not a human being ever believed for an instant the base imputation that he appropriated Confederate gold. He distributed the last to the soldiers, and "the fact is," he wrote to a friend, "that I staked all my property and reputation on the defense of States' rights and constitutional liberty as I understand them. The first I spent in the cause, except what was saved and appropriated or destroyed by the enemy; the last has been persistently assailed by all which falsehood could invent and malignity employ."

HUMANITY TO PRISONERS OF WAR.

He would have turned with loathing from misuse of a prisoner, for there was no characteristic of Jefferson Davis more marked than his regard for the weak, the helpless, and the captive. By act of the Confederate Congress and by general orders the same rations served to the Confederates were issued to the prisoners, though taken from a starving army and people.

Brutal and base was the effort to stigmatize him as a conspirator to maltreat prisoners, but better for him that it was made, for while he was himself yet in prison the evidences of his humanity were so overwhelming that finally slander stood abashed and malignity recoiled.

Even at Andersonville, where the hot summer sun was, of course, disastrous to men of the Northern clime, well-nigh as many of their guard died as of them.

With sixty thousand more Federal prisoners in the South than there were Confederate prisoners in the North, four thousand more Confederates than Federals died in prison. A cyclone of rhetoric cannot shake this mountain of fact, and these facts are alike immovable:

1. He tried to get the prisoners exchanged by the cartel agreed on, but as soon as an excess of prisoners was in Federal hands this was refused.

2. A delegation of the prisoners themselves was sent to Washington to represent the situation and the plea of humanity for exchange.

3. Vice-President Stephens was sent to see President Lincoln by President Davis, and urge exchange, in order "to restrict the calamities of war," but he was denied audience.

4. Twice—in January, 1864, and in January, 1865—President Davis proposed through Commissioner Ould that each side should send surgeons and allow money, food, clothing, and medicines to be sent to prisoners, but no answer came.

5. Unable to get medicines in the Confederacy, offer was made to buy them from the United States for the sole use of Federal prisoners. No answer was made.

6. Then offer was made to deliver the sick and wounded without any equivalent in exchange. There was no reply for months.

7. Finally, and as soon as the United States would receive them, thousands of both sick and well were delivered without exchange.

The record leaves no doubt as to the responsibility for refusal to exchange. General Grant assumed it, saying in his letter of August 18, 1864: "It is hard on our men in Southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our battles. If we commence a system of exchanges which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated. If we hold those caught they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time, to release all rebel prisoners North would insure Sherman's defeat and would compromise our own safety here."

Alexander H. Stephens declared that the effort to fix odium on President Davis constituted "one of the boldest and baldest attempted outrages upon the truth of history which has ever been essayed."

Charles A. Dana, of the New York *Sun*, formerly Assistant Secretary of War, nobly vindicated President Davis while he lived, declared him "altogether acquitted" of the charge, and said of him dead, "A majestic soul has passed."

When General Lee congratulated his army on the victories of Richmond, he said to them: "Your humanity to the wounded and the prisoners was the fit and crowning glory of your valor." And could that army now march by, they would lift those laurels from their bayonets and throw them upon the grave of the Confederate President.

HE RESENTED WRONG, BUT BORE NEITHER HATRED NOR MALICE.

Resentment wreaked itself upon him ere these truths were fully known, and while, indeed, passion turned a deaf ear to them. And if he struck back, what just man can blame him? With a reward of \$100,000 offered for him as an assassin; charged with maltreating prisoners; indicted for treason and imprisoned for two years and denied a trial; handcuffed like a common ruffian; put in solitary confinement; a silent sentinel and a blazing light at watch on his every motion—where is there a creature who can call himself a man who could condemn—aye, who does not sympathize with the goaded innocence and the righteous indignation with which he spurned the accusations and denounced the accusers?

But whatever he suffered, the grandeur of his soul lifted him above the feelings of hatred and malice.

When Grant lay stricken at Mt. McGregor he was requested to write a criticism of his military career. He declined for two reasons: "First, General Grant is dying. Second, though he invaded our country with a ruthless, it was with an open hand, and, as far as I know, he abetted neither arson nor pillage, and has since the war, I believe, shown no malignity to the Confederates either of the military or civil service; therefore, instead of seeking to disturb the quiet of his closing hours, I would, if it were in my power, contribute to the peace of his mind and the comfort of his body." This was no new-born feeling. At Fortress Monroe, when suffering the tortures of bodily pain in an unwholesome prison, and the worse tortures of a humiliating and cruel confinement which make man blush for his kind to recall them, he yet, in the solitude of his cell, shared only by his faithful pastor, took the Holy Communion which commemorates the blood and the broken body of Jesus Christ, and, bowing to God, declared his heart at peace with Him and man.

As free from envy as he was from malice, he was foremost in recognizing, applauding, and eulogizing the great character and achievements of General R. E. Lee, and with his almost dying hand he wove a chaplet of evergreen beauty to lay upon his honored brow.

RIGID ADHERENCE TO PRINCIPLE.

Sternly did he stand for principle. He was no courtier, no flatterer, no word magician, no time-server, no demagogue, unless that word shake from it the contaminations of its abuse and return to its pristine meaning—a leader of the people. Like King David's was his command, "There shall no deceitful man dwell in my house." A pure and lofty spirit breathed through his every utterance, which, like the Parian stone, revealed in its polish the fineness of the grain. I can recall no public man who in the midst of such shifting and perplexing scenes of strife maintained so firmly the consistency of his principles, and who, despite the shower of darts that hurtled around his head, triumphed so completely over every dishonoring imputation. It was because those who knew his faith knew always where to find him, and wherever found he proclaimed that faith as the standard-bearer unfurls his colors.

He was always ready to follow his principles to their logical conclusion; to become at any sacrifice their champion; to face defeat in their defense, and to die, if need be, rather than disguise or recant them.

Advocating the Mexican war while a member of the House of Representatives from Mississippi, he resigned his seat there to take command of a Mississippi regiment and share the hardships and dangers of the field.

When later his party in Mississippi seemed to be losing ground, and General Quitman, its candidate for governor, retired, a popular election giving forecast of 7,500 majority against him, Jefferson Davis resigned his seat in the United States Senate to accept its leadership and become its nominee, and with such effect did he rally its ranks that he came within 1,000 votes of election.

When he turned homeward from Mexico the laurelled hero of Buena Vista, he was everywhere hailed with acclamation, and a commission as brigadier-general of volunteers in the United States army was tendered him by President Polk. We may well conceive with what pride the young soldier, not yet forty years of age, would welcome so rare an honor in the cherished profession which had

kindled his youthful ardor, and in which he had become now so signally distinguished.

But he had taught the doctrine that the State and not the Federal Government was the true constitutional fountain of such an honor, and from another hand he would not bend his knightly brow to receive it. And yet later on, when summoned from the privacy of home to a place in the Cabinet of President Pierce, he declined because he believed it to be his duty to remain in Mississippi and wrestle for the cause with which he was identified. Thus did he abandon or decline the highest dignities of civil and military life, always putting principle in the lead, and himself anywhere that would best support it.

REPRESENTATIVE MEN INTERPRET THE GENIUS OF PEOPLES.

Personal virtues and public services are so different in essence and effect that nations often glorify those whose private characters are detestable, and condemn others who possess the most admirable traits. The notorious vices of Marlborough stood not in the way of the titles, honors, and estates which England heaped on the hero of Blenheim, and the nobleness of Robert Emmet did not shield the champion of Irish independence from the scaffold.

But the men of history cannot be thus dismissed from the bar of public judgment with verdicts wrung from the passion of an hour. There is a court of appeals in the calmer life and clearer intelligence of nations, and whenever the inherent rights or the moral ideas underlying the movements of society are brought in question, the personal qualities, the honor, the comprehension, the constancy of its leading spirits must contribute largely to the final judgment. In this forum personal and public character are blended, for in great conjunctures it is largely through their representative men that we must interpret the genius of peoples.

A TRUE REPRESENTATIVE MAN OF THE SOUTH.

It was fortunate for the South, for America, and for humanity that at the head of the South in war was a true type of its honor, character, and history—a man whose clear rectitude preserved every complication from impeachment of bad faith; a patriot whose love of law and liberty were paramount to all expediencies; a commander whose moderation and firmness could restrain, and whose lofty passion and courage could inspire; a publicist whose intellectual powers

and attainments made him the peer of any statesman who has championed the rights of commonwealths in debate, or stood at the helm when the ship of state encountered the tempest of civil commotion.

HE TRULY REPRESENTED THE SOUTH AS A CONSTITUTIONAL
PRESIDENT.

In the tremendous storm which has scarce yet subsided Jefferson Davis never once forgot that he was a constitutional President under the limits of the fundamental law of the Confederate republic. Some thought that he might have imparted a fiercer energy to his sore-pressed battalions had he grasped the purse and the sword, seized the reins of a dictator, and pushed the enterprise of war to its most exigent endeavor. But never once did ambition tempt or stress of circumstances drive him to admit the thought, at war as it was with the principles of the revolution which he led and with the genius of the southern people. He stood for constitutional right. To him it was the Rock of Ages. Who does not now rejoice that he was inflexible?

HE TRULY REPRESENTED THE SOUTH IN NOT NEGOTIATING FOR PEACE
ON OTHER TERMS THAN INDEPENDENCE.

Had a man less sober-minded and less strong than he been in his place the Confederacy would not only have gone down in material ruin—it would have been buried in disgrace. Excesses, sure to bring retribution in the end, would have blotted its career, and weakness would have stripped its fate of dignity. I dismiss, therefore, the unworthy criticism that he should have negotiated peace in February, 1865, when Hon. Francis Blair came informally to Richmond, and when, as the result of his mission, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter, and Campbell met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward in conference at Hampton Roads. Reports have been circulated that at that time peace could have been secured upon a basis of a return to the Union, with payment of some sort to southern owners for their emancipated slaves. There is no foundation for such belief. The idea which led to the conference was that of Mr. Blair—that the Confederate cause being hopeless, the Confederate leaders could be induced to wheel their columns into line with those of the Union army now thundering at their gates, and then march off to Mexico to assert the Monroe doctrine and expel Maximilian, the usurping

emperor, from his throne. But when President Lincoln and Secretary Seward appeared no proposal of any kind was made but unconditional surrender. This was reported, and of course declined. Even had compensation for slaves been proposed the Confederate soldiers would have repudiated such terms as conditions of surrender. True, they were in dire distress. With scarce a handful, Johnston could only harass Sherman in the South, and the men of Lee could see from their trenches the mighty swarms marshalling in their front. The starvation that clutched at their throats plunged its dagger to their hearts as they thought of loved ones famishing at home. But the brave men who still clung to their tattered standards knew naught of the art or practice of surrender. They thought of Valley Forge and saw beyond it Yorktown. Had not Washington thought of the mountains of West Augusta when driven from his strongholds? Why not they? Had not Jackson left the legacy, "What is life without honor? Dishonor is worse than death." They could not comprehend the idea of surrender, for were they not their fathers' sons?

REVOLUTIONS CAN ONLY DIE IN THE LAST DITCH.

They would rather have died than surrender then, and they were right. Revolutions imply the impossibility of compromise. They never begin until overtures are ended. Once begun, there is no half-way house between victory and death, and they can only die with honor in the last ditch.

Had surrender come before its necessity was manifest to all mankind, reproach, derision, and contempt, feud, faction, and recrimination would have brought an aftermath of disorder and terror; and had it been based on such terms as those which critics have suggested a glorious revolution would have been snuffed out like a farthing candle in a miserable barter about the ransom of slaves.

It was well for all that it was fought to the finish without compromise either tendered or entertained. The fact that it was so fought out gave finality to its result and well-nigh extinguished its embers with its flames. No drop of blood between Petersburg and Appomattox—not one in the last charge—was shed in vain. Peace with honor must pay its price, even if that price be life itself, and it is because the South paid that price with no miser's hand that her surviving soldiers carried home with them the "consciousness of duty faithfully performed." We should rejoice that if weak men wavered before the end, neither Jefferson Davis, nor Robert Lee, nor Joseph

Johnston wavered. Though they and their compeers could not achieve the independence of the Confederacy, they did preserve the independent and unshamed spirit of their people. And it is in that spirit now that men of the South find their shield against calumny, their title to respect, their welcome to the brotherhood of noble men, and their incentive to noble and unselfish deeds.

"If you would know why Rome was great," says a student of her history, "consider that Roman soldier whose armed skeleton was found in a recess near the gate of Pompeii. When burst the sulphurous storm the undaunted hero dropped the visor of his helmet and stood there to die."

Would you know why the South is great? Look on the new-made grave in Louisiana, and consider the ragged soldier of Bentonville and Appomattox.

EARLY DAYS—DAVIS AND LINCOLN.

After the Revolutionary war Samuel Davis, who had served in it as one of the mounted men of Georgia, settled in Kentucky. Pending the war, in 1782 (the very year that George Rogers Clarke captured Kaskaskia), Thomas Lincoln, of Rockingham county, Virginia, removed to the same State. Jefferson Davis, the son of the first-named settler, was born on June 3, 1808, and on February 12, 1809, was born the son of the other—Abraham Lincoln. Samuel Davis moved to Mississippi. His son became a cadet at West Point under appointment from President Monroe, and soon commissioned as a lieutenant in the United States army, appeared in the service fighting the Indians on the frontier in the Black Hawk war. In early manhood Abraham Lincoln removed to Illinois, and now becoming a captain of volunteers, he and Jefferson Davis were under the same flag engaged in the same warfare.

John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell had once engaged passage for America, and George Washington was about to become a midshipman in the British navy. Had not circumstances changed these plans Hampden and Cromwell might have become great names in American history. And suppose Admiral George Washington, under the colors of King George III., had been pursuing the Count D'Estaing, whose French fleet hemmed Cornwallis in at Yorktown—who knows how the story of the great Revolution might have been written? Had Jefferson Davis gone to Illinois and Lincoln to Mississippi, what different histories would be around those names; and yet I fancy that the great struggle with which they were identified

would have been changed only in incidents and not in its great currents.

A PLANTER'S LIFE—1835 TO 1843.

In 1835 Lieutenant Davis resigned his commission in the army, intermarried Miss Taylor, a daughter of Zachary Taylor, and retired to his Mississippi estate, where for eight years he spent his time in literary studies and agricultural pursuits—a country gentleman with a full library and broad acres.

Such life as his was that of John Hampden before the country squire suddenly emerged from obscurity as a debater, a leader of Parliament, and a soldier, to plead and fight and die in the people's cause against a tyrant's and a tax-gatherer's exactions. Such life as his was that of many of the fathers of this republic; and when Jefferson Davis entered public life, in 1843, he came—as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Henry, Mason, Clay, Calhoun, and Andrew Jackson had come before him—from a southern plantation, where he had been the head of a family and the master of slaves.

HIS VARIOUS EMPLOYMENTS FROM 1843 TO 1861.

From 1843 to 1861 the life of Jefferson Davis was spent, for the most part in public services, and they were as distinguished as the occasions which called them into requisition were numerous and important. A presidential elector, a member of the House of Representatives, a United States senator (once by appointment and twice by election); a colonel of the Mississippi volunteers in Mexico, twice a candidate for governor of his State before the people—these designations give suggestion of the number and dignity of his employments.

MILITARY SERVICES IN MEXICO.

How he led the Mississippi riflemen in storming Monterey without bayonets; how he threw them into the famous "V" to receive and repulse the Mexican lancers at the crisis of the battle of Buena Vista; how, though wounded and bleeding from a musket-shot, he sat his horse, and would not quit the field till victory had crowned it, is a picture that hangs conspicuously in the galleries of our history. The movement—prompt, original, and decisive—disclosed the general of rare ability; the personal conduct avouched the hero.

"Colonel Davis," said General Taylor in his report, "though severely wounded, remained in the saddle until the close of the

action. His distinguished coolness and gallantry at the head of his regiment on this day entitled him to the particular notice of the government."

Colonel Davis won the battle of Buena Vista, and Buena Vista made General Taylor President.

IN THE CABINET OF PRESIDENT PIERCE.

As Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Pierce, a position which he only accepted after repeated solicitation, he was an officer second to none who has ever administered that department in executive faculty and in benefits bestowed on the military service.

It was under his direction that George B. McClellan (then a captain, afterwards general-in-chief and commander of the Army of the Potomac) was sent with a commission to the Crimea to observe military operations and to study the tactics and conditions of the European armies there engaged, the result of which introduced many improvements.

There was nothing that came within his jurisdiction that he did not methodize and seek to extend to the widest range of utility. Material changes were made in the model of arms. Iron gun-carriages were introduced and experiments made which led to the casting of heavy guns hollow, instead of boring them after the casting. The army was increased by two regiments of cavalry and two of infantry. Amongst his earnest recommendations were the revision of army regulations; the increase of the medical corps; the introduction of light-infantry tactics; rifled muskets and balls; the exploration of the western frontiers, and the maintenance of large garrisons for the defense of settlers against the Indians. And there was no direction in which was not felt his comprehensive understanding and his diligent hand.

His efforts to obtain increased pay for officers and men and pensions to their widows betokened those liberal sentiments to the defenders of their country which he never lost opportunity to evince or express.

He refused to carry politics into the matter of clerical appointments, and in selecting a clerk was indifferent whether he was a Democrat or a Whig. To get the best clerk was his sole thought, and while I am not prepared to condemn as spoilsmen those who seek agents in unison with their principles, I can readily recognize the simplicity and loftiness of a nature which pays no heed to considerations of partisan advantage.

The confidence which he inspired was indicated by the trust reposed in him by Congress to take charge of the appropriations made for the construction of the new Senate chamber and hall of Representatives, and of those also to locate the most eligible route for the railway to connect the Mississippi Valley with the Pacific coast.

The administration of Franklin Pierce closed in 1857, and it had presented the only instance in our history of a cabinet unchanged for four years in the individuals which composed it. None have filled the executive chair with more fidelity to public interests than Franklin Pierce, and words with which his Secretary of War eulogized him were worthily spoken by one to whom they were equally applicable: "Chivalrous, generous, amiable, true to his friends and his faith, frank and bold in his opinions, he never deceived any one. And if treachery had ever come near him it would have stood abashed in the presence of his truth, his manliness, and his confiding simplicity."

FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE IN POLITICS—IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN 1845.

In his first public appearance, in 1843, Mr. Davis had uttered the key-note of his political faith by moving to instruct the delegates from Mississippi to vote for John C. Calhoun as a presidential nominee in a national democratic convention.

Calhoun was, as he regarded, "the most trusted leader of the South and the greatest and purest statesman of the Senate," and while he did not concur in his doctrines of nullification, he adopted otherwise his constitutional views, and in the most part the politics which he advocated. Taking his seat in the House of Representatives in December, 1845, he at once launched into the work and debates of that body, and with his first address made that impression of eloquence and power which he maintained throughout his parliamentary career. John Quincy Adams is said to have predicted on hearing it that he would make his mark, and his prophecy was very soon fulfilled. He advocated, in a resolution offered by himself the very first month of his service, the conversion of some of the military posts into schools of instruction, and the substitution of detachments furnished proportionately by the States for the garrisons of enlisted men; and on the 29th of the same month made a forcible speech against Know-Nothingism, which was then

becoming popular. He had barely risen into distinguished views by his positions and speeches on these and other subjects, such as the Mexican war and the Oregon question, ere he resigned to take the field in Mexico, and when he returned to public life after the Mexican war it was as a member of the United States Senate.

IN THE SENATE.

It was in that body that his rich learning, his ready information on current topics, and his shining abilities as an orator and debater were displayed to most striking advantage. The great triumvirate, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, were in the Senate then, as were also Cass, Douglass, Bright, Dickinson, King, and others of renown, and when Calhoun ere long departed this life the leadership of the States'-Rights party fell upon Jefferson Davis.

The compromise measures of Mr. Clay of 1850 he opposed, and insisted on adhering to the line of the Missouri compromise of 1820, on the ground that "pacification had been the fruit borne by that tree, and it should not have been ruthlessly hewn down and cast into the fire." Meeting Mr. Clay and Mr. Berrien, of Georgia, together in the Capitol grounds one day, Mr. Clay urged him in a friendly way to support his bill, saying he thought it would give peace to the country for thirty years, and then he added to Mr. Berrien, "You and I will be under ground before that time, but our young friend here may have trouble to meet."

Mr. Davis replied: I cannot consent to transfer to posterity an issue that is as much ours as theirs, when it is evident that the sectional inequality will be greater than now, and render hopeless the attainment of justice."

This was his disposition—never to evade or shift responsibility; and that he did meet it is the reason why the issue is now settled, and that ourselves, not our children, were involved in civil war.

When Clay on one occasion bantered him to future discussion, "Now is the moment," was his prompt rejoinder. But these collisions of debate did not chill the personal relations of these two great leaders. Henry Clay was full of that generosity which recognized the foeman worthy of his steel, and frequently evinced his admiration and friendship for Jefferson Davis. Besides, there was a tie between them that breathed peace over all political antagonism. Lieutenant-Colonel Clay, the son of the Whig leader, had been slain in the battle of Buena Vista. "My poor boy," said he to Senator Davis, "usually occupied about one-half of his letters home in

praising you," and his eyes filled with tears. When turning to him once in debate, he said: "My friend from Mississippi—and I trust that he will permit me to call him my friend, for between us there is a tie the nature of which we both understand."

Without following, as indeed I could not in this brief hour, the bearings of questions that came before the Senate during his service, or portraying the scenes of digladiation in which they were dealt with, I but pronounce the general verdict when I say that his great parliamentary gifts ranked him easily with the foremost men of that body. He was measured by the side of the giants of his time, and in nothing found unequal.

TWO SPEECHES IN CONGRESS ABOUT THE MEXICAN WAR—DAVIS AND LINCOLN, AGAIN.

In connection with the Mexican war two speeches were made in the House of Representatives which were filled with the doctrines which all Americans have inherited from the fathers of the republic.

The one of them was made by a man who, with a mind as broad as the continent, advocated the railroad to connect the Mississippi Valley with the West, and who poured out from a heart thrilling with the great tradition of his country inspiring appeals for fraternity and union.

"We turn," said he, "from present hostility to former friendship, from recent defection to the time when Massachusetts and Virginia, the stronger brothers of our family, stood foremost and united to defend our common rights. From sire to son has descended the love of our Union in our hearts, as in our history are mingled the names of Concord and Camden, of Yorktown and Saratoga, of Monerio and Plattsburgh, of Chippewa and Erie, of Bowyer and Guilford, and New Orleans and Bunker Hill. Grouped together they form a monument to the common glory of our common country; and where is the southern man who would wish that monument even less by one of the northern names that constitute the mass? Who, standing on the ground made sacred by the blood of Warren, could allow sectional feeling to curb his enthusiasm as he looked upon that obelisk which rises a monument to freedom's and his country's triumph, and stands a type of the time, the men, and event it commemorates; built of material that mocks the waves of time, without niche or moulding for parasite or creeping thing to rest on, and pointing like a finger to the sky, to raise man's thoughts to philanthropic and noble deeds?"

Scarce had these words died upon the air when there arose another in the House of Representatives, on February 12, 1848—one who had just voted that the war with Mexico was unnecessary and unconstitutional, and who now based his views of the rights attaching by the conquest on the rights of revolution. He said:

“Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better.

“This is a most valuable and most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world.

“Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it.

“Any portion of such people that can may revolutionize, putting down a minority intermingled with or near about them who oppose their movements.

“Such a minority was precisely the case of the Tories of the Revolution. It is a quality of revolutions not to go by old lines or old laws, but to break up both and make new ones.”

Who, think you, my countrymen, were these spokesmen?

The one who thus glorified the Union was the Kentucky boy who had moved to Mississippi, and was about to lead her soldiers under the Stars and Stripes in battle, and who now fills the grave of a disfranchised citizen. The other who thus held up revolution as the right which was “to liberate the world” was Abraham Lincoln, the Kentucky boy who moved to Illinois, and who is now hailed as “the defender and preserver of the nation.”

BOTH DAVIS AND LINCOLN REVOLUTIONISTS.

Success has elevated the one to a high niche in Fame's proud temple. But can failure deny to the other entrance there when we remember that the Temple of Virtue is the gateway of the Temple of Fame? Both of them in their speeches then stood for American principles; both of them in their lives afterwards were the foremost champions of American principles; both of them were revolutionists, and as such must be judged; and Jefferson Davis never advocated an idea that did not have its foundation in the Declaration of Independence; that was not deducible from the Constitution of the United States as the fathers who made it interpreted its meaning; that had not been rung in his ears and stamped upon his heart from the hour when his father baptized him in the name of Jefferson

and he first saw the light in a Commonwealth that was yet vocal with the "States'-Rights Resolutions of 1798.

A GREAT REPRESENTATIVE OF AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND OF ANGLO-SAXON CHARACTER.

We cannot see the hand on the dial as it moves, but it does move nevertheless, and so surely as it keeps pace with the circling sun, so surely will the hour come when the misunderstandings of the past will be reconciled, and its clamors die away; and then it will be recognized by all that Jefferson Davis was more than the representative of a section, more than the intelligent guide of a revolution, more than the champion of secession. He will stand revealed as a political philosopher, to be numbered amongst the great expounders of American principles and the great heroes and champions of the Anglo-Saxon race. When the turbid streams of war have cleared and flow evenly in their channels it will also be seen that underneath the hostile currents which impelled two great peoples in collision there was a unity of sentiment which, operating from different poles of circumstances and interest, threw into separate masses those who by natural instinct would have cohered together.

It is easier to note the differences that float upon the surface of social organizations than to detect the congruities and identities that lie beneath them; and critics, in their analyses of character, are more prone to exhibit the striking antitheses of contrast than to linger upon the neutral colors which are common and undistinguishing.

GERMS OF CONTROVERSY NOT IN DIFFERENCES OF RACE, MORALS, OR CREED OF EARLY SETTLERS.

Some fancy that they discern the germs of the controversy of 1861 in differences between the groups of colonists which settled in Virginia and in Massachusetts, and which they think impressed upon the incipient civilization of the North and South opposing characteristics. The one, they say, brought the notions of the Cavaliers, the other of the Puritans, to America, and that an irrepressible conflict existed between them. To so believe is to be deceived by the merest surface indications. The Puritans and the Cavaliers of England have long since settled their differences in the Old World, and become so assimilated that the traces of old-time quarrel, and, indeed, of political identity, have been completely obliterated; and it would be strange indeed if in little England they of the same race and

language were thus blended, that in America, where social adaptation is so much easier and more rapid, they should have remained separate and hostile. Many Cavaliers went to New England, and many Puritans came to Virginia and the South, and their differences disappeared as quickly as they now disappear between disciples of different parties from different sections when thrown into new surroundings with common interests.

NORTH AND SOUTH CONTROLLED BY PREDOMINANT TRAITS OF RACE.

To understand the causes of conflict we must consider the unities of our race, and note the interventions of local causes which differentiated its northern and southern segments.

When this is done it will be realized that each section has been guided by the predominant traits which it possessed in common, and which inhered in the very blood of its people, and that differences of physical surrounding, not the differences of moral and intellectual character, led to their crystallization in masses separated by diversities of interest and opinion and their resulting passions. These diverse interests and opinions sprung out of the very soil on which they made their homes even as the pine rises to towering heights in the granite hills of the North, and the palmetto spreads its luxuriant foliage on the Southland. The bear of the polar region takes his whiteness from the cold sky, and the bear of the tropics turns dark under the blazing heavens. The same breeze upon the high seas impels one ship north, another south, one east, and another west, according to the angle in which it strikes the sail. Natural causes operating under fixed laws changed the civilization of the North and South; but though their people were moved in opposite directions, he who searches for impelling forces will find them nearly, if not quite, identical.

THE UNITIES OF THE ANGLO-SAXON RACE.

What are the unities of our race? They are—first, aversion to human bondage; second, race integrity; third, thirst for power and broad empire; fourth, love of confederated union; fifth, assertion of local liberty, if possible, within the bounds of geographical and governmental union; sixth, but assertion of local liberty and individual right under all circumstances, at all times, and at any cost. These traits are so strong as to be the natural laws of the race. One or another of them has lost its balance in the conflict between

interest and instinct, but only to reappear with renewed vigor when the suppressing circumstances were removed, and he who follows their operation will hold the key to the ascendancy of Anglo-Saxon character, and to its wonderful success in grasping imperial domains and crowning freedom as their sovereign.

It will not do to dispute the existence of these natural laws of race because they have been time and again overruled by greed, by ambition, or by the overwhelming influence of alien or hostile forces. As well dispute the courage of the race because now and then a division of its troops have become demoralized and broken in battle. Through the force of these laws this race has gone around the globe with bugles and swords, and banners and hymn-books, and school-books and constitutions, and codes and courts, striking down old-time dynasties to ordain free principles; sweeping away barbaric and savage races that their own seed might be planted in fruitful lands; disdaining miscegenation with inferior races, which corrupts the blood and degenerates the physical, mental, and moral nature; widening the boundaries of their landed possessions, parcelling them out in municipal subdivisions, and then establishing the maximum of local and individual privilege consistent with the common defense and general warfare of their grand aggregations; and then again, rising in the supreme sovereignty of unfearing manhood against the oppressions of the tax-gatherer and the sword, recasting their institutions, flinging rulers from their high places, wrenching government by the mailed hand into consistency with their happiness and safety, and proclaiming above all the faith of Jefferson—that “Liberty is the gift of God.”

JEFFERSON DAVIS ENTITLED TO STAND IN THE PANTHEON OF THE WORLD'S GREAT MEN.

I shall maintain that the southern people have been as true to these instincts as any portion of their race, and have made for them as great sacrifices; that the Southern Confederacy grew out of them, and only in a subsidiary degree in antagonism to any one of them; and I shall also maintain that Jefferson Davis is entitled to stand in the Pantheon of the world's great men on a pedestal not less high than those erected for the images of Hampden, Sidney, Cromwell, Burke, and Chatham, of the fatherland, and Washington and Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams, Madison and Franklin, of the New World, who, however varying in circumstances or in personality,

were liberty-leaders and representatives of great people, great ideas, and great deeds.

UNITY OF THE SOUTHERN COLONIES AGAINST SLAVERY.

On what ground will he be challenged? Did not the southern folk show originally an aversion to slavery more manifestly even than those of the North? South Carolina protested against it as early as 1727 and as late as 1760. Georgia prohibited it by law. Virginia sternly set her face against it, and levied a tax of ten dollars per head on every negro to prevent it. They were all overridden by the avarice of English merchants and the despotism of English ministers. "Do as you would be done by" is not yet the maxim of our race, which will push off on its weaker brethren that it will not itself accept; and thus slavery was thrust on the South, an uninvited—aye, a forbidden—guest. Quickly did the South stop the slave trade. Though the Constitution forbade the Congress to prohibit it prior to 1808, when that year came every southern State had itself prohibited it, Virginia leading the list. When Jefferson Davis was born it was gone altogether save in one State (South Carolina), where it had been revived under combination between large planters of the South and ship-owners and slave-traders of the North.

Fine exhibition, too, was that of unselfish southern patriotism when, in 1787, by southern votes and Virginia's generosity, and under Jefferson's lead, the great northwestern territory was given to the Union and to freedom.

UNITY OF AMERICAN COLONIES IN YIELDING TO SLAVERY.

But the South yielded to slavery, we are told. Yes; but did not all America do likewise? Do we not know that the Pilgrim fathers enslaved both the Indian and African race, swapping young Indians for the more docile blacks lest the red slave might escape to his native forest?

Listen to his appeal to Governor Winthrop: "Mr. Endicott and myself salute you on the Lord Jesus. We have heard of a division of women and children, and would be glad of a share—viz., a young woman or a girl and a boy, if you think good."

Do we not hear Winthrop himself recount how the Pequods were taken "through the Lord's great mercy, of whom the males were sent to Bermuda and the females distributed through the bay towns,

to be employed as domestic servants"? Did not the prisoners of King Philip's war suffer a similar fate? Is it not written that when one hundred and fifty Indians came voluntarily into the Plymouth garrison they were all sold into captivity beyond the seas? Did not Downing declare to Winthrop, "if upon a just war the Lord should deliver them (the Narragansetts), we might easily have men, women, and children enough to exchange for Moors, which will be more gainful pillage to us than we can conceive, for I do not see how we can thrive until we get in a stock of slaves sufficient to do all our business"? Were not choice parcels of negro boys and girls consigned to Boston from the Indies, and advertised and sold at auction, until after independence was declared? Was not the first slave-ship in America fitted out by the Pilgrim Colony? Was not the first statute establishing slavery enacted in Massachusetts in 1641, with a certain comic comprehensiveness providing that there should "never be any bond slavery unless it be of captives taken in just war, or of such as willingly sold themselves or were sold to them"? Did not the United Colonies of New England constitute the first American Confederacy that recognized slavery? and was not the first fugitive-slave law originated at their bidding? All this is true. Speak slowly, then, O! man of the North, against the southern slave-owners, or the southern Chief, lest you cast down the images of your ancestors, and their spirits rise to rebuke you for treading harshly on their graves. On days of public festival, when you hold them up as patterns of patriotism, take care lest you be accused of passing the counterfeit coin of praise. Disturb not too rudely the memories of the men who defended slavery; say naught of moral obliquity, lest the venerable images of Winthrop and Endicott be torn from the historic pages of the Pilgrim Land, and the fathers of Plymouth Rock be cast into utter darkness.

UNITY OF AMERICA IN SLAVERY WHEN INDEPENDENCE WAS
DECLARED AND THE CONSTITUTION ORDAINED.

When independence was declared at Philadelphia, in 1776, America was yet a unit in the possession of slaves, and when the Constitution of 1787 was ordained the institution still existed in every one of the thirteen States save Massachusetts only. True, its decay had begun where it was no longer profitable, but every State united in its recognition in the Federal compact, and the very fabric of our representative government was built upon it, as three-fifths of the slaves were counted in the basis of representation in the Congress of the

United States, and property in it was protected by rigid provisions regarding the rendition of fugitive slaves escaping from one State to another.

Thus embodied in the Constitution; thus interwoven with the very integuments of our political system; thus sustained by the oath to support the Constitution, executed by every public servant and by the decisions of the supreme tribunals, slavery was ratified by the unanimous voice of the nation, and was consecrated as an American institution and as a vested right by the most solemn pledge and sanction that man can give.

Deny to Jefferson Davis entry to the Temple of Fame because he defended it? Cast out of it first the fathers of the republic. Brand with the mark of condemnation the whole people from whom he inherited the obligation, and by whom was imposed upon him the oath to support their deed. America must prostrate herself in sack-cloth and ashes, repent her history, and revile her creators and her being ere she can call recreant the man of 1861 who defended the heritage and promise of a nation.

LINCOLN AND SLAVERY—"CHARITY TO ALL."

There is a statue in Washington city of him who uttered the words, "Charity to all, malice to none," and he is represented in the act of breaking the manacles of a slave.

Suppose there were carved on its pedestal the words: "Do the southern people really entertain fears that a Republican administration would directly or indirectly interfere with the slaves or with them about their slaves?"

"The South would be in no more danger in this respect than it was in the days of Washington."

This was his utterance December 22, 1860, after South Carolina had seceded.

Carve again:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it now exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." These are the words of his inaugural address March 4, 1861.

Carve yet again:

"*Resolved*, That this war is not waged upon our part with any purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the suprem.

acy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union." This resolution Congress passed and he signed it after the first battle of Manassas.

And yet once more :

"I did not at any time say I was in favor of negro suffrage. I declared against it. I am not in favor of negro citizenship."

This opinion he never changed.

These things show in the light of events—the emancipation proclamation, the reconstruction acts, the black suffrage, the anarchy that reigned—that the South read truly the signs of the irrepressible conflict.

They show, further, that by the right of revolution alone can Abraham Lincoln be defended in overthrowing the institution which he pledged himself to guard like Washington, and with it the Constitution which he had sworn "to defend and maintain." And if Jefferson Davis appealed to the sword and needs the mantle of charity to cover him, where would Lincoln stand unless the right of revolution stretched that mantle wide, and a great people wrapped him in its mighty folds?

DECAY OF SLAVERY IN THE NORTH AND GROWTH IN THE SOUTH DUE TO NATURAL AND NOT MORAL CAUSES.

As the time wore on the homogeneous order of the American people changed. It was not conscience but climate and soil which effected this change, or rather the instinct of aversion to bondage rose up in the North just in proportion as the temptation of interest subsided.

The inhospitable soil of New England repelled the pursuits of agriculture and compelled to those of commerce and the mechanic arts. In these the rude labor of the untutored African was unprofitable, and the harsh climate was uncongenial to the children of the Dark Continent translated from its burning suns to these frigid shores. Slavery there was an exotic; it did not pay, and its roots soon decayed, like the roots of a tropic plant in the arctic zone.

In the fertile plantations of the sunny South there was employment for the unskilled labor of the African, and under its genial skies he found a fitting home. Hence natural causes ejected him from the North and propelled him southward; and as the institution of slavery decayed in northern latitudes it thrived and prospered in the southern clime.

The demand for labor in the North was rapidly supplied by new accessions of Europeans, and as the population increased their opin-

ions were moulded by the body of the society which absorbed and assimilated them as they came; while on the other hand the presence of masses of black men in the South, and the reliance upon them for labor, repelled, in both social and economical aspects, the European immigrants who eagerly sought for homes and employment in the New World. More than this, northern manufacturers wanted high tariffs to secure high prices for their products in southern markets, and southern farmers wanted low tariffs that they might buy cheaply. Ere long it appeared that two opposing civilizations lay alongside of each other in the United States; and while the roof of a common government was over both of them, it covered a household divided against itself in the very structure of its domestic life, in the nature of its avocations, in the economies of its labor, and in the very tone of its thought and aspiration.

Revolution was in the air. An irrepressible conflict had arisen.

TWO REVOLUTIONS RISING ON PARALLEL LINES—THE REVOLUTION OF THE NORTH AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION.

There were indeed two revolutions forming in the American republic. The one was a northern revolution against a Constitution which had become distasteful to its sentiments and unsuited to its needs. As the population of the East moved westward across the continent the southern emigrant to the new Territories wished to carry with him his household servants, while the northerner saw in the negro a rival in the field of labor which cheapened its fruits, and degraded, as he conceived, its social status.

Thus broke out the strife which raged in the territories of northern latitudes, and as it widened it assailed slavery in every form, and denounced as "a covenant with death and with hell" the Constitution which had guaranteed its existence.

The formula of the northern revolution was made by such men as Charles Sumner, who took the ground of the higher law, that the Constitution itself was unconstitutional, and that it was not in the power of man to create by oath or mandate property in a slave—a revolutionary idea striking to the root and to the subversion of the fundamental law which Washington, Adams, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, and their compeers had joined in making, and under which the United States had fought its battle and attained its wonderful growth for three-quarters of a century.

THE NORTHERN GIANT—FREE WHITE LABOR.

"The Impending Crisis," Helper's book, appeared, and, endorsed by sixty-eight Abolition members of Congress, went far and wide. The spirit of the times is indicated in its doctrines. "Never another vote for a slavery advocate; no co-operation with slavery in politics; no fellowship in religion; no affiliation in society; no patronage to pro-slavery merchants; no guestship in a slave-waiting hotel; no fee to a pro-slavery lawyer; none to a pro-slavery physician; no audience to a pro-slavery parson; no subscription to a pro-slavery newspaper; no hiring of a slave; but the utmost encouragement of *Free White Labor*." "FREE WHITE LABOR!" This was the northern giant that stalked into the field.

THE SOUTHERN REVOLUTION.

Meantime the northern revolution against the Constitution was being combatted by the rise of the southern revolution looking to withdrawal from the union whose Constitution was unacceptable to the northern people.

But it was not hatred to union or love of slavery that inspired the South, nor love of the negro that inspired the North. Profounder thoughts and interests lay beneath these currents. The rivalry of cheap negro labor, aversion to the negro and to slavery alike, were the spurs of northern action; that of the South was race integrity. FREE WHITE DOMINION! The southern giant rose and faced its foe.

THE SOUTH STANDS FOR RACE INTEGRITY.

The instinct of race integrity is the most glorious, as it is the predominant characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the sections have it in common. Fiercely did it sweep the red men before it; swiftly did it brush away the Chinese in the West and North, burning their homes, cutting their throats when they pressed too hard in rivalry, and then breaking treaties to hurl them back across the Pacific ocean to their native shores. Four million of black men lived in the South side by side with the white race; and race integrity now incensed the South to action.

Look further southward beyond the confines of our country and behold how the Latin races have commingled their blood with the aborigines and negroes, creating mongrel republics and empires, where society is debased and where governments, resting on no clear

principles, swing like pendulums between the extremes of tyranny and license.

On the contrary, the American element at the South—and I quote a profound northern writer in saying it—"guarded itself with the strictest jealousy from any such baleful contaminations." But what a picture of horror rose before its eyes as it contemplated the freeing of the slaves. John C. Calhoun had drawn that picture in vivid colors which now, recalling the days of carpet-bag and negro ascendancy, seems like a prophet's vision. "If I owned the four million of slaves in the South," said Robert Lee, "I would sacrifice all for the Union." And so, indeed, would the southern people. But Lee never indicated how such sacrifice could obtain its object, nor was it possible that it could. It was not the property invested in the slave that stood in the way, for emancipation with compensation for them was then practicable, and was again practicable in early stages of the war, and was indeed offered. But free the slaves, they would become voters; becoming voters, they would predominate in numbers, and so predominating, what would become of white civilization?

This was the question which prevented emancipation in Virginia in 1832. Kill slavery, what will you do with the corpse? Only silent mystery and awful dread answered that question in 1861, while the clamors of abolition grew louder, and the forces were accumulating strength to force the issue. In fourteen northern States the fugitive-slave law had been nullified. In new territories armed mobs denied access to southern masters with their slaves. Negro equality became a text of the hustings, and incendiary appeals to the slaves themselves to murder and burn filled the mails.

The insurrection of Nat. Turner had given forecast of scenes as horrible as those of the French Revolution, and the bloody butcheries of San Domingo seemed like an appalling warning of the drama to be enacted on southern soil.

The crisis was now hastened by two events. In 1854 the Supreme Court, in the Dred-Scott decision, declared the Missouri compromise of 1820, which limited the extension of slavery to a certain line of latitude, unconstitutional. This was welcome to the South, but it fired the northern heart. In 1859 John Brown, fresh from the border warfare of Kansas, suddenly appeared at Harper's Ferry with a band of misguided men, and, murdering innocent citizens, invoked the insurrection of the slaves. This solidified and almost frenzied the South, and in turn the fate he suffered threw oil upon the northern flames. Thus fell out of the gathering clouds the first

big drops of the bloody storm. In 1860 Abraham Lincoln was elected President, and in his inaugural address he proclaimed his party's creed that the Dred-Scott decision might be reversed. The southern States were already in procession of secession. The high tides of revolution were in their flow.

THE SOUTH AND THE UNION—ITS BATTLES.

Pause, now, upon the threshold, and geography and history will alike tell you that neither in its people nor its leader was there lack of love for the Union, and that it was with sad hearts that they saw its ligaments torn asunder. Look at the southern map. There may be read the name of Alamance, where in 1771 the first drop of American blood was shed against arbitrary taxation, and at Mecklenburg, where was sounded the first note of Independence. Before the Declaration at Philadelphia there had risen in the southern sky what Bancroft termed "the bright morning star of American Independence," where, on the 28th of June, 1776, the guns of Moultrie at the Palmetto fort in front of Charleston announced the first victory of American arms. At King's Mountain is the spot where the rough-and-ready men of the Carolinas and the swift riders of Virginia and Tennessee had turned the tide of victory in our favor, and there at Yorktown is the true birth spot of the free nation. Right here I stand to-night on the soil of that State which first of all America stood alone free and independent? Beyond the confines of the South her sons had rendered yeoman service; and would not the step of the British conqueror have been scarce less than omnipotent had not Morgan's riflemen from the Valley of Virginia and the peerless commander of Mt. Vernon appeared on the plains of Boston? You may follow the tracks of the Continentals at Long Island, Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, Valley Forge, Monmouth, and Morristown by the blood and the graves of the southern men who died on northern soil, far away from their homes, answering the question with their lives: Did the South love the Union?

THE LOVE OF THE SOUTH FOR AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

• Did not the South love American institutions? What school-boy cannot tell? Who wrote the great Declaration? Who threw down the gage, "Liberty or Death?" Who was chief framer of the Constitution? Who became its great expounder? Who wrote the Bill of Rights which is copied far and wide by free commonwealths?

Who presided over the convention that made the Constitution and became in field and council its all in all defender? Jefferson, Henry, Madison, Marshall, Mason, Washington, speak from your graves and give the answer.

THE SOUTH LEADS IN ACQUIRING THE NATIONAL DOMAIN.

Did not the South do its part in acquiring the imperial domain of the nation? When the revolution ended the thirteen States that lay on the Atlantic seaboard rested westward in a wilderness, and the Mississippi marked the extreme limits of their claims as the Appalachian range marked the bounds of civilization. The north-western territory north of the Ohio river, which now embraces Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, was conquered by George Rogers Clarke, a soldier of Virginia, under commissions from Patrick Henry as Governor. But for this conquest the Ohio would have been our northern boundary, and by Virginia's gift and southern votes this mighty land was made the dowry of the Union.

Kentucky, the first-born State that sprung from the Union, was a southern gift to the new confederation. The great territory stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Rocky Mountains' gate and to far-off Oregon was acquired by Jefferson, as President, from Napoleon, then First Consul of France, and the greatest area ever won by diplomacy in history added to the Union. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, offered the bill in 1812 which proclaimed the second war of independence. President Madison, of Virginia, led the country through it, and at New Orleans Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, achieved its culminating victory.

It is a northern scholar (Theodore Roosevelt) who says: "Throughout all the Northwest, where Ohio was the State most threatened, the troops of Kentucky formed the bulk of the American army, and it was a charge of their mounted riflemen which at a blow won the battle of the Thames.

"Again, on the famous January morning, when it seemed as if the fair Creole city was already in Packenham's grasp, it was the wild soldiery of Tennessee who, laying behind their mud breast-works, peered out through the lifting fog at the scarlet array of the English veterans as the latter, fresh from their victories over the best troops of Europe, advanced for the first time to meet defeat."

In 1836 Samuel Houston sprung from the soil of that very county which now holds the ashes of Lee and Jackson, won the battle of

San Jacinto, and achieved Texan independence. In 1845, under James K. Polk, of Tennessee, a southern President, it was admitted into the Union, and a little later the American armies, led by two southern generals, Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott, and composed more than half of southern soldiers, made good the cause of the Lone Star State, enlarged its boundaries, and acquired New Mexico and California. Thus was stretched the canopy of the wide heavens that now spread over the American republic; and, counting the constellation of forty-two stars that glitter in it, forget not ye who have sentiment of justice that over thirty of them were sown there by measures and by deeds in which southern States and southern soldiers took a leading part, and in which the patriotism and love of Union of the South never faltered.

SECESSION.

If the people with such a history could have adopted secession, mighty indeed must have been the propulsion to it. I shall not discuss its policy, for it would be as vain a thing to do as to discuss that of the Revolution of 1776. Each revolution concluded the question that induced it. Slavery was the cause of our civil war, and with the war its cause perished. But it should be the desire of all to understand each other and to think well of each other, and the mind capable of just and intelligent reflection should not fail, in judging the past, to remember the conditions and views that controlled the southern people and their leader.

Remember that their forefathers, with scarce less attachment to the British Government, and with less conflict of interest, had set the precedent, seceding themselves from the British empire, tearing down ancient institutions, revolutionizing the very structure of society, and giving proud answers to all accusers in the new evangel of the west that the people have a right to alter or abolish government whenever it becomes destructive to their happiness or safety.

I have found nowhere evidence that Jefferson Davis urged secession, though he believed in the right, approved the act of Mississippi after it had been taken, felt himself bound by his State allegiance whether he approved or no, and then, like all his southern countrymen, did his best to make it good. Remember that the Federal Constitution was silent as to secession; that the question was one of inference only, and that implications radiated from its various provisions in all directions.

If one argued that the very institute of government implied perpetuity, as Lincoln did in his first inaugural address, another answered that reservations to the States of powers not delegated rebutted the implication; another that the government and the constitution had come into being in that free atmosphere which breathed the declaration that they must rest upon the consent of the government; and yet another answered, in Lincoln's own language, that any people anywhere had the right to shake off government, and that this was the right that "would liberate the world."

RIGHT OF SECESSION NOT DENIED UNTIL RECENTLY.

Remember that this right of secession had never been denied until recent years; that it had been preached upon the hustings, enunciated in political platforms, proclaimed in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, embodied in our literature, taught in our schools and colleges, interwoven with the texts of jurisprudence, and maintained by scholars, statesmen, and constituencies of all States and sections of the country.

SECESSION AN OPEN QUESTION IN 1861.

Remember, furthermore, that secession was an open question in 1861. No statute had ever declared, no executive had ever proclaimed, no court had held, it to be unconstitutional. The States had declared themselves to be free and independent. American sovereignty was hydra-headed, and each State had its own statute, defining and punishing treason against itself. No man could have an independent citizenship of the United States, but could only acquire citizenship of the federation by virtue of citizenship of one of the States. The eminent domain of the soil remained in the State, and to it escheated the property of the intestate and heirless dead. Was not this the sovereign that "had the right to command in the last resort"?

Tucker had so taught in his commentaries on Blackstone, writing from old Williamsburg; so Francis Rawle, the eminent lawyer whom Washington had asked to be Attorney-General, writing on the Constitution, in Philadelphia; and so DeTocqueville, the most acute and profound foreign writer on American institutions.

NO ARBITER TO DECIDE THE QUESTION OF SECESSION.

Where could an arbiter be found? There was no method of invoking the Supreme Court; it had no jurisdiction to coerce a State

or summon it to its bar. Nor could its decree be final. For it is a maxim of our jurisprudence uttered by Jefferson, and reiterated by Lincoln in his first inaugural address, that its decisions may be reconsidered and reversed and bind only the clients.

SECESSION PREACHED AND THREATENED IN ALL SECTIONS—THE NORTHERN RECORD FOR IT AND AGAINST EXTENSION OF THE UNION.

Recall the history of the doctrine; forget not that the first mutterings of secession had come from the North as early as 1793, in opposition to the threatened war with England, when the sentiments uttered by Theodore Dwight in his letter to Wolcott were widespread. "Sooner would ninety-nine out of a hundred of our inhabitants separate from the Union than plunge themselves into an abyss of misery."

Nullification broke out in the South in 1798, led by Jefferson, and again in 1830, led by Calhoun; but in turn secession or nullification was preached in and out of Congress, in State Legislatures, in mass-meetings and conventions in 1803, 1812, and in 1844 to 1850, and in each case in opposition made by the North to wars or measures conducted to win the empire and solidify the structure of the Union.

While Jefferson was annexing Louisiana, Massachusetts legislators were declaring against it as "forming a new confederacy, to which the States united by the former compact were not bound to adhere."

While new States were being admitted into the Union out of its territory, and the war of 1812 was being conducted, Josiah Quincy was maintaining the right of secession in Congress; the eastern States were threatening to exercise that right, and the Hartford convention was promulgating the doctrine.

When Texas was annexed, and Jefferson Davis was in Congress advocating it, Massachusetts was declaring it unconstitutional, and that any such "act or admission would have no binding obligation on its people."

While the Mexican war was being fought and the soldier-statesman of Mississippi was carrying the Stars and Stripes in glory over the heights of Monterey, and bleeding under them in the battle shock of Buena Vista, Abraham Lincoln was denouncing the war as unconstitutional, and northern multitudes were yet applauding the eloquence of the Ohio orator who had said in Congress that the

Mexicans should welcome our soldiers "with bloody hands to hospitable graves."

CANDID VIEW FROM THE NORTH.

Consider these grave words, which are but freshly written in the life of Webster by Henry Cabot Lodge, who is at this time a Republican representative in Congress from the city of Boston, Mass.:

When the Constitution was adopted by the votes of States at Philadelphia and accepted by votes of States in popular conventions it was safe to say there was not a man in the country, from Washington and Hamilton, on the one side, to George Clinton and George Mason, on the other, who regarded the new system as anything but an experiment entered upon by the States, *and from which each and every State had the right to peaceably withdraw—a right which was very likely to be exercised.*

CONTEMPORARY NORTHERN OPINIONS OF SECESSION.

Recall the contemporary opinions of northern publicists and leading journals. The New York *Herald* considered coercion out of the question. On the 9th of November, 1860, the New York *Tribune*, Horace Greeley being the editor, said:

"If the cotton States shall decide that they can do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on letting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a revolutionary one, but it exists nevertheless, and we do not see how one party can have the right to do what another party has a right to prevent. We must ever resist the asserted right of any State to remain in the Union and nullify or defy the laws thereof; to withdraw from the Union is quite another matter."

This was precisely the creed of Jefferson Davis.

Again, on the 17th day of December, after the secession of South Carolina, that journal said:

"If the Declaration of Independence justified the secession from the British empire of three millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of southerners from the Federal Union in 1861. If we are mistaken on the point, why does not some one attempt to show wherein and why?"

And yet again, on the 23d of February, after Mr. Davis had been inaugurated as President at Montgomery, it said:

"We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that the great principle embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Ameri-

can Independence, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, is sound and just, and that if the slave States, the cotton States, or the Gulf States only choose to form an independent nation they have a clear moral right to do so."

THE BALANCE OF POWER THE POLITICAL QUESTION UNDERLYING SECESSION.

The controlling truth was that two incompatible and hostile civilizations were in ceaseless conflict, and the balance of power between them, like the balance of power in Europe, dominated the politics of the country. There was equilibrium between these rival powers and sections when their race began, and each in turn threatened secession as the equilibrium trembled to the one side or the other.

This was the cause of northern hostility to the Louisiana, the Texas, and Mexican annexations, and this the cause of southern contention for territorial rights in Kansas and Nebraska.

Having given the North generous advantages in the northwestern territory in 1787, and foreseeing the doom of her institutions and the upheaval of her society, with the balance of power lost to her, and unable to maintain herself in the Union on an issue which involved not only two thousand millions of property, but far more than that—the peace of society, the integrity, purity, and liberty of the white race—the South adopted in 1861 the measure which the northern States had often threatened, but never attempted, against the Union—the measure which all Americans had not only attempted, but had consecrated as just in principle and vindicated by deed in 1776.

THE UNITED STATES TREATED SECESSION AS A POLITICAL QUESTION AND MET IT BY REVOLUTION.

The historian will note that while the United States declared war on the ground that secession was treason, they practically treated it as a political question of territorial integrity. They accorded belligerent rights to the Confederacy, exchanged prisoners, and gave paroles of war, and revolutionized all theories and constitutional mandates to carry their main point—the preservation of the Union. General Grant says of their legislation in his Memoirs: "Much of it was no doubt unconstitutional, but it was hoped that the laws enacted would subserve their purpose before their constitutionality could be submitted to the judiciary and a decision obtained." Of the war he

says: "The Constitution was not framed with a view to any such rebellion as that of 1861-'65. While it did not authorize rebellion, it made no provision against it. Yet," he adds, "the right to resist or suppress rebellion is as inherent as the right of an individual to preserve his life when it is in jeopardy. The Constitution was, therefore, in abeyance for the time being, so far as it in any way affected the progress and termination of the war."

This is revolution.

Indicted for treason, Jefferson Davis faced his accusers with the uplifted brow and dauntless heart of innocence, and eagerly asked a trial. If magnanimity had let him pass it would have been appreciated; but they who punished him without a hearing, before they set him free, now proceeded to amend the Constitution to disfranchise him and his associates, finding, like Grant, nothing in it as it stood against such movement as he led.

It may be that but for the assassination of President Lincoln—most infamous and unhappy deed—which

"Uproared the universal peace
And poured the milk of Concord into hell,"

the country would have been spared the shame of President Davis' cruel incarceration and the maiming of the Constitution.

For I can scarcely believe that he who three times overruled emancipation; who appealed to "indispensable necessity" as justification for "laying strong hands on the colored element"; who candidly avowed northern "complicity" in the wrongs of his time; who said, "I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me"; who had preached revolution in 1848, and revolutionized all things to save the Union in 1862—I can scarcely believe it possible*that one of his broad mind and generous heart would have persecuted an honorable foe. It has been a wonder to me that those who justly applaud his virtues have not copied his example; wonder, indeed, that all men have not seen that the events which controlled him controlled also his antagonist.

THE COUNTRY UNIFIED BY NATURAL LAWS.

The United States have been unified by natural laws, kindred to those which unified the South in secession, but greater because wider spread. Its physical constitution, in 1861, answered to the northern mind the written Constitution and the traditions of our origin to which the South appealed. The Mississippi river, the nat-

ural outlet of a new-born empire to the sea, was a greater interpreter to it than the opinions of statesmen who lived when the great new commonwealths were yet in the wilderness, and before the great republic spanned the father of waters.

The river seeking its bed as it rolls oceanward pauses not to consider whose are the boundaries of the estates through which it flows. If a mountain barrier stands in the way it forms a lake until the accumulated waters break through the impeding wall or dash over it in impetuous torrents. So nations in their great movements seem to be swept out of the grooves defined by the laws of man, and are oftentimes propelled to destinies greater than those conjured in their dreams.

THE CONSTITUTION OF NATURE AND THE JURY OF THE SWORD.

The rivalry, not the harmony, of sections won the empire of the Union; its physical constitution proved more powerful than its written one; in the absence of a judge all appealed to the jury of the sword. We belong to a high-handed race and understand the law of the sword, for the men of Independence in 1776 and 1861 were of the same blood as those who in each case cried, "Disperse, ye rebels." And were I of the North I would prefer to avow that it made conquest by the high hand than coin the great strife that marshalled over three millions of soldiers into police-court technicalities and belittles a revolution continent wide into the quelling of an insurrection and the vicarious punishment of its leader. The greatest conqueror proclaims his naked deed.

THE SOUTH IN THE UNION AT HOME.

As we are not of the North, but of the South, and are now, like all Americans, both of and for the Union, bound up in its destinies, contributing to its support, and seeking its welfare, I feel that as he was the hero in war who fought the bravest, so he is the hero now who puts the past in its truest light, does justice to all, and knows no foe but him who revives the hates of a bygone generation.

If we lost by war a southern union of thirteen States, we have yet a common part in a continental union of forty-two, to which our fathers gave their blood, and upon which they shed their blessings; and a people who could survive four years of such experience as we had in 1861-'65 can work out their own salvation on any spot of earth that God intended for man's habitation. We are, in fact, in

our father's home, and it should be, as it is, our highest aim to develop its magnificent possibilities, and make it the happiest dwelling-place of the children of men.

JEFFERSON DAVIS A LOVER OF THE UNION.

The southern leader was no Secessionist *per se*. His antecedents, his history, his services, his own earnest words often uttered, attest his love of the Union and his hope that it might endure. In 1853, in a letter to Hon. William J. Brown, of Indiana, he repudiated the imputation that he was a disunionist.

"Pardon," he said, "pardon the egotism, in consideration of the occasion, when I say to you that my father and uncles fought in the Revolution of 1776, giving their youth, their blood, and their little patrimony to the constitutional freedom which I claim as my inheritance. Three of my brothers fought in the war of 1812; two of them were comrades of the Hero of the Hermitage, and received his commendation for gallantry at New Orleans. At sixteen years of age I was given to the service of my country. For twelve years of my life I have borne its arms and served it zealously, if not well. As I feel the infirmities which suffering more than age has brought upon me, it would be a bitter reflection indeed if I was forced to conclude that my countrymen would hold all this light when weighed against the empty panegyric which a time-serving politician can bestow upon the Union, for which he never made a sacrifice.

"In the Senate I announced if any respectable man would call me a disunionist I would answer him in monosyllables. But I have often asserted the right for which the battles of the Revolution were fought, the right of a people to change their government whenever it was found to be oppressive and subversive of the objects for which governments are instituted, and have contended for the independence and sovereignty of the States; a part of the creed of which Jefferson was the apostle, Madison the expounder, and Jackson the consistent defender."

REPUDIATION OF DISUNIONISM AND EFFORTS TO SAVE THE UNION.

Four years later, when Senator Fessenden, of Maine, said, turning to him: "I have avowed no disunion sentiments on this floor; can the honorable gentleman from Mississippi say as much?" Mr. Davis answered: "Yes; I have long sought for a respectable man to

allege the contrary." And the imputation ended with the unanswered challenge to produce the evidence. Even when secession seemed a foregone conclusion, Mr. Davis strove to avert it, being ready at any time to adopt the Crittenden measures of compromise if they were accepted by the opposition; and when the representatives and senators from Mississippi were called in conference with the Governor of that State, in December, 1860, he still advised forbearance "as long as any hope of a peaceful remedy remained," declaring that he felt certain, from his knowledge of the people North and South, that "if once there was a clash of arms the contest would be one of the most sanguinary the world had ever witnessed." But a single member of the conference agreed with him; several of its members were so dissatisfied with his position that they believed him entirely opposed to secession and as seeking delay with the hope that it might be averted; and the majority overruling his counsels, he then announced that he would stand by any action which might be taken by the convention representing the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi. Thus he stood on the brink of war, conservative, collected, appreciating the solemn magnitude of the crisis, and although the pencil of hostile passion has otherwise portrayed him, I do not believe there was a man living in 1861 who could have uttered more sincerely than he the words of Addison: "Is there not some chosen curse, some hidden thunder in the stars of Heaven, red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man who owes his greatness to his country's ruin?"

PLEADING FOR CONCILIATION.

Pleading still for conciliation, on January 10, 1861, it was the heart of a patriot and not that of the ambitious aspirant from which flowed these words:

"What, senators, to-day is the condition of the country? From every corner of it comes the wailing cry of patriotism pleading for the preservation of the great inheritance we derived from our fathers. Is there a senator who does not daily receive letters appealing to him to use even the small power which one man here possesses to save the rich inheritance our fathers gave us? Tears are trickling down the faces of men who have bled for the flag of their country and are willing now to die for it; but patriotism stands powerless before the plea that the party about to come to power adopted a platform, and that come what will, though ruin stare us

in the face, consistency must be adhered to, even though the government be lost."

Even as he spoke, though perhaps as yet unknown to him, Mississippi the day before had passed the ordinance of secession.

FAREWELL TO THE SENATE.

On the 20th of January he rose in the Senate to announce that fact, and that "of course his functions there were terminated."

In language characterized by dignity and moderation, in terms as decorous and in sentiments as noble as became a solemn crisis and a high presence, he bade farewell to the Senate.

"In the course of my service here," he said, "associated at different times with a great variety of senators, I see now around me some with whom I have served long. There may have been points of collision, but whatever of offense there has been to me I leave here. I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offense I have given which has not been redressed, or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which in the heat of discussion I have inflicted. I go hence unincumbered of the remembrance of any injury received, and I have discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered."

In clear statement he summarized his political principles.

"It is known to you, senators, who have served with me here, that I have for many years advocated, as an essential attribute of State sovereignty, the right of a State to secede from the Union"; but he hoped none would "confound the expression with the advocacy of the right of a State to remain in the Union, and to disregard the constitutional obligation by the nullification of the law. Such is not my theory. Secession belongs to a different class of remedies. It is to be justified upon the basis of State sovereignty. There was a time when none denied it."

He pointed out that the position he then assumed was the same that he had occupied when Massachusetts had been arraigned at the bar of the Senate, and when the doctrine of coercion was ripe, and to be applied against her because of the rescue of a fugitive slave in Boston. "My opinion then was the same as it is now. I then said that if Massachusetts chose to take the last step which separates her from the Union, it is her right to go, and I will neither vote one dollar nor noe man to force her back, but will say to her God-speed,

in memory of the kind associations which once existed between her and the other States."

In concluding, he said: "I find in myself, perhaps, a type of the general feeling of my constituents towards yours. I am sure I feel no hostility toward you senators from the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussions there may have been between us, to whom I cannot now say, in the presence of my God, I wish you well, and such I am sure is the feeling of the people whom I represent towards those whom you represent.

"I therefore feel that I but express their desire when I say I hope, and they hope, for peaceable relations with you, though we must part.

"They may be mutually beneficial to us in the future, as they have been in the past, if you so will it.

"The reverse may bring disaster on every portion of our country; and if you will have it thus, we will invoke the God of our fathers who delivered them from the power of the Lion to protect us from the ravages of the Bear, and thus putting our trust in God, and in our firm hearts and strong arms we will vindicate the right as best we may."

SECESSION AND VIRGINIA.

Well was that pledge redeemed. South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, and North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee, all seceded, while Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland were divided in sentiment. Jefferson Davis became by unanimous selection President of the Confederate States of America; the capital, first planted at Montgomery, was removed here to Richmond, and for four years the new republic waged for its life the mightiest warfare of modern times. "There was something melancholy and grand," says a northern historian, "in the motives that caused Virginia at last to make common cause" with the South. Having made it, she has borne her part with a sublimity of heroism such as was never surpassed, and has uttered no cry in the majesty of her sorrows.

No State has done more for peace than Virginia, as none had done more originally for union; no State more reluctantly or more unselfishly drew the sword; no State wielded a brighter or sterner blade after it was drawn; no State suffered so much by it; no State used triumph with more generosity or faced defeat with greater dignity; no State has abided the fate of war with greater magnanimity or greater wisdom; and no State turns her face with fairer

hope or steadier courage to the future. It seemed the very sarcasm of destiny that the Mother of States should have been the only one of all the American commonwealths that was cut in twain by the sword. But it is the greatness of spirit, not the size of the body, that makes the character and glory of the State, as of the man; and old Virginia was never worthier the love of her sons and the respect of all mankind than to-day as she uncovers her head by the bier of the dead chieftain whose fortunes she followed in storm and trial, and to whose good fame she will be true, come weal, come woe.

THE ODDS AGAINST THE CONFEDERACY EXPLAIN ITS FALL.

I shall make no *post-mortem* examination of the Confederacy in search of causes for its fall. When an officer during the war was figuring on prospects of success, General Lee said to him: "Put up your pencil, Colonel; if we follow the calculations of figures, we are whipped already."

Twenty millions of people on the one side, nine millions (and half of them slaves) on the other; a great navy, arsenals, armies, factories, railroads, boundless wealth and science, and an open world to draw upon for resources and reinforcements upon the one side, and little more than a thin line of poorly-armed and half-fed soldiery upon the other, pitted one man against two—a glance of the eye tells the story of the unequal contest. As my noble commander (General Early) said: "I will not speculate on the causes of failure, as I have seen abundant causes for it in the tremendous odds brought against us."

That President Davis made mistakes I do not doubt; but the percentage of mistakes was so small in the sum of his administration, and its achievements so transcended all proportions of means and opportunities, that mankind will never cease to wonder at their magnitude and their splendor.

Finances went wrong, some say. Finances always go wrong in failures; but not worse in this case than in the revolution of 1776, when Washington was at the head. So far did they go wrong then that not even success could rescue the worthless paper money of our fathers from repudiation and oblivion, and even to this day the very worst fling that can be made at the Confederate note reaches a climax in the expression, "It is not worth a continental."

JEFFERSON DAVIS CREATED AND MAINTAINED A NATION.

Blame Jefferson Davis for this or that; discount all that critics say, and then behold the mighty feat which created and for four years maintained a nation; behold how armies without a nucleus were marshalled and armed—how a navy, small indeed, but one that revolutionized the naval warfare of all nations and became the terror of the seas, was fashioned out of old hulks or picked up in foreign places; see how a world in arms was held at bay by a people and a soldiery whom he held together with an iron will and hurled like a flaming thunderbolt at their foes.

THE CABINET OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

In his Cabinet he gathered the foremost civilians of the land—Toombs, Hunter, Benjamin, Bragg, Watts, Davis, Memminger, Trenholm, Walker, Randolph, Seddon, Breckenridge, Mallory, Reagan. Good men and true were these, regardful of every duty.

HIS GENERALS AND HIS ARMIES.

To the leadership of his soldiers whom did he delegate? If some Messianer could throw upon the canvas Jefferson Davis in the midst of those chiefs whom he created, what grander knighthood could history assemble?

Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, Joseph E. Johnston, G. T. Beauregard, Samuel Cooper, and Braxton Bragg were generals of the full rank.

Stonewall Jackson, Forrest, Polk, Hardee, Ewell, D. H. Hill, A. P. Hill, Hood, Richard Taylor, Holmes, R. H. Anderson, Pemberton, Early, Kirby Smith, Longstreet, Hampton, S. D. Lee, A. P. Stewart, Buckner, Wheeler, and Gordon were their lieutenants.

Major-generals, brigadiers and field officers, cavalry leaders, artillerymen, and infantry commanders who became world renowned, throng upon the memory. The names of Stuart, Ashby, Morgan, Cleburne, and their compeers spring from the full heart to the lip. Would that time permitted me to call that brilliant roll of the living and the dead; but why need the voice pronounce what all would speak?

Men judge Napoleon by his marshals; judge Jefferson Davis and his chosen chieftains, and the plea of words seems weak indeed by the side of Men and Deeds.

Troop behind them those armies of "tattered uniforms and bright musket"—but no, it is beyond the reach of either brush or chisel to redeem to the imagination such men, such scenes, as shine in their twenty-two hundred combats and battles. Not until some new-born Homer shall touch the harp can mankind be penetrated by a sense of their heroic deeds, and then alone in the grand majestic minstrelsy of epic song.

WAR.

And now that war is flagrant, far and wide on land and sea and river, over the mountain and the plain, rolls the red battle tide and rises the lofty cheer. The son falls, the old father steps in his place. The father falls, the stripling of the play-ground rushes to the front; the boy becomes a man. Lead fails—old battle-fields are raked over, children gather up bullets as they would pluck berries, household ornaments and utensils are broken, and all are moulded into missiles of war. Cannon fail—the very church bells whose mellow chimes have summoned to the altar are melted and now resound with the grim detonations of artillery. Clothes fail—old garments are turned over; rags and exercise are raiment. The battle-horse is killed, the ship goes down; the unhorsed trooper and the unshipped tar trudge along with the infantry. The border States are swept away from the Confederacy; the remaining ones gird their loins the tighter. Virginia is divided; there is enough of her left for her heroic heart to beat in. New Orleans is gone; Vicksburg falls; Gettysburg is lost; armies wither; exiles make their homes in battle; slender battalions do the duty of divisions. Generals die in the thick fight; captains become generals; a private is a company. Luxuries disappear; necessities become luxuries. Fields are wasted; crops and barns are burned; flocks and herds are consumed, and naught is left but "man and steel—the soldier and his sword."

The desolate winter lays white and bleak upon the land; its chill winds are resisted by warm and true affections.

Atlanta, Mobile, Charleston, Savannah fall—the Confederacy is cut to pieces. Its fragments become countries with frontiers on skirmish lines and capitals on horseback.

Ports are sealed—the world and the South are parted. All the dearer seems the scant sky that hangs over her bleeding children.

On and on and on come the thickening masses of the North—brave men, bravely led, and ably commanded; and as those of the South grow thinner, theirs grow stronger. Hope sinks; despair stiffens courage.

Everything fails but manhood and womanhood. The woman cooks and weaves and works, nurses the stricken and buries her dead and cheers her living. The man stands to his gun behind Johnston, behind Lee. Petersburg and Richmond starve and bleed, and yet stand dauntless. And here amongst you—while the thunders shake the capitol and the window-panes of his home, and the earth trembles—here stands Jefferson Davis, unshaken, untrembling, toiling to give bread to his armies and their kindred, toiling to hold up the failing arms of his veterans, unbelieving that Heaven could decree the fall of such a people.

At last the very fountains of nature fail. The exhausted South falls prone upon its shield.

LET HIM REST IN RICHMOND.

It is gone! All gone! Forever gone! The Confederacy and its sons in gray have vanished; and now at last, hoary with years, the Chieftain rests, his body mingling with the ashes of the brave which once quickened with a country's holy passion.

Hither let that body be borne by the old soldiers of the Confederacy. Here in Richmond, by the James, where was his war home, where his child is buried, where his armies were marshalled, where the Congress sat, where was the capitol, the arsenal, the citadel, the field of glory, and at last the tomb of the Confederacy—here let him be buried, and the land of Washington and Lee and Stonewall Jackson will hold in sacred trust his memory and his ashes.

THE FUTURE WILL HONOR HIM.

The restless tides of humanity will rush hither and thither over the land of battles. The ages will sweep on, and

“Rift the hills, roll the waters, flash the lightnings, weigh the sun.”

The white sails of commerce will thicken on your river and the smoke of increasing factories will blacken the skies. Mountains will pour forth their precious metals, and fields will glow in the garniture of richer harvests. The remnants of lives spared from the battle will be interwoven with the texture of the Union; new stars will cluster upon the flag, and the sons of the South will bear it as their fathers bore it to make the bounds of freedom wider yet. Our great race will meet and solve every problem, however dark,

that it now faces, and a people reconciled and mighty will stretch forth their arms to stay those of the oppressor. But no greater souls will rise than those who find rest under the southern sod from Sumter's battered wall to the trailing vines and ivy leaves of Hollywood, and none will come forth of truer heart or cleaner hands or higher crest to lead them.

To the dust we give his body now; the ages receive his memory. They have never failed to do justice, however tardy, to him who stood by his people and made their cause his own.

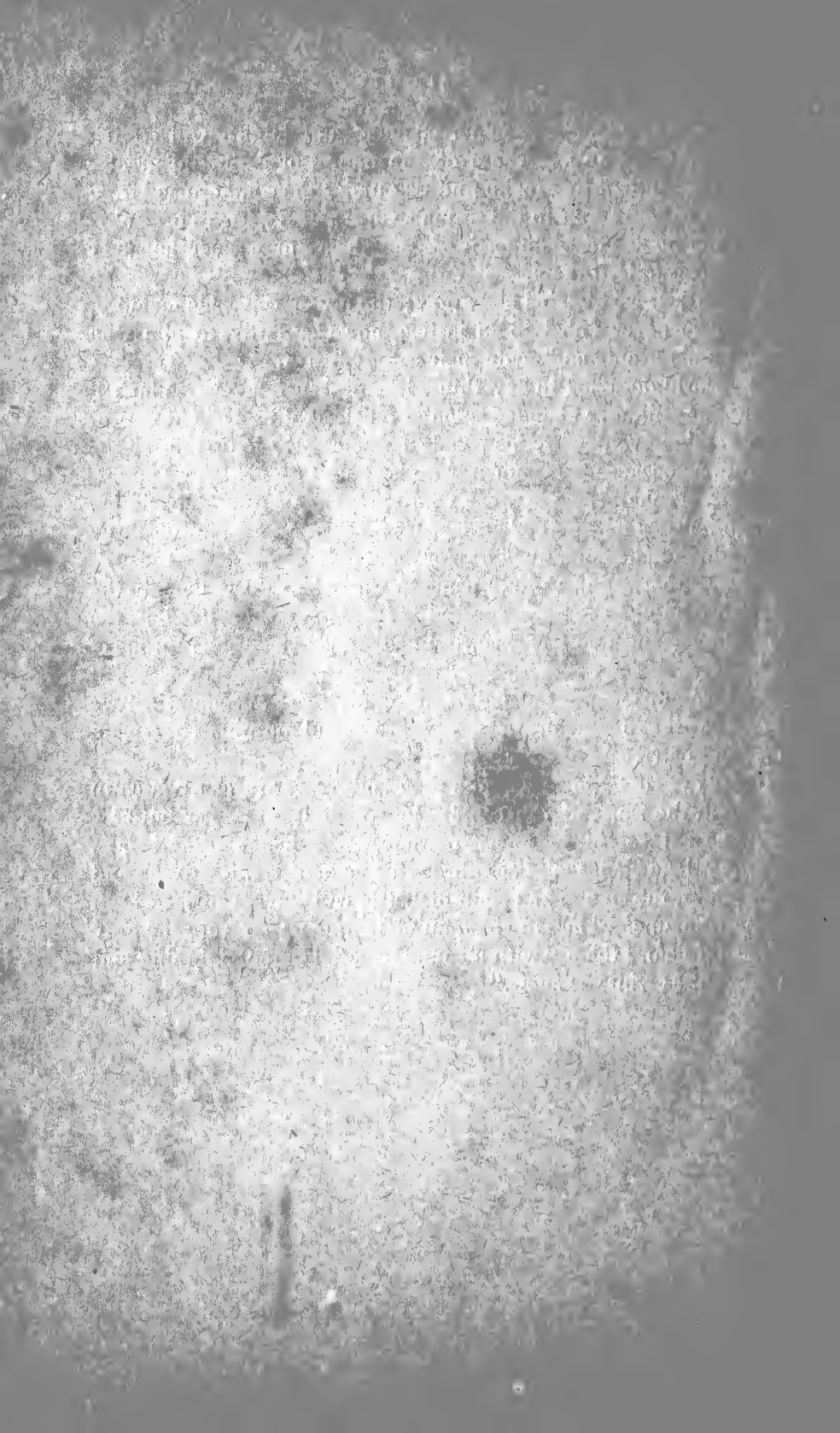
The world does not to-day think less of Warren because he fell at Bunker Hill, a red-handed colonial rebel, fighting the old flag of his sovereign even before his people became secessionists from the crown, nor because his yeomen were beaten in the battle.

The great character and work of John Hampden wear no stigma, though he rode out of the battle at Chalgrove stricken to death by a loyal bullet and soon filled a rebel's grave.

Oliver Cromwell is a proud name in English history, though the English republic which he founded was almost as short-lived as the Confederacy and was soon buried under the re-established throne of the Stuarts.

And we but forecast the judgment of the years to come when we pronounce that Jefferson Davis was great and pure as statesman, man, and patriot.

In the eyes of Him to whom a thousand years are as a watch in the night, the war and the century in which it came are but as a single heart-throb in the breast of time, and when the myriads of this great land shall look back through unclouded skies to the old heroic days, the smoke and stain of battle will have vanished from the hero's name. The tall chieftain of the men who wore the gray will stand before them "with a countenance like the lightning and in raiment as white as snow."



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